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ONE KOREA

UNCURK's FALLACIOUS REPORT

Collapsing 5-Year Plan

Lack of Funds

Kim Il-Sung Address

On Unification

No. 16

Nov. 1962

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

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Disarmament in Korea

In his address to the Third Congress of the Supreme People's Assembly on Oct. 23, Premier Kim Il-Sung made clear the North Korean stand on unification. The address was a summary of past North Korean proposals on the problem. There were no new proposals and the little change seen is the point that the "federal system" which was proposed as a substitute plan for the all-Korea general elections on unification two years ago is now stressed as a necessary step to get to the elections on unification.

Under the present circumstances, wherein the differences between North and South Korea are so wide apart, immediate realization of an all-Korea elections on unification is quite impossible. The federal system emphasized by Kim Il-Sung and the economic and cultural exchanges and free travel between North and South Korea proposed often by North Korea and aspired by the majority of the Korean nation, too have no chances of immediate realization since South Korean authorities are so sensitive towards "indirect aggression" by the Communists.

What is there then among all the proposals put forth by Kim Il-Sung that both North and South Korea could accept to promote unification as well as benefit both countries?

The non-agression agreement suggested by Kim Il-Sung as a pre-requisite to unification would be difficult to reach, for the South Korean government has never been inclined to recognize the existence of North Korea. The disarmament plan put forth again by the North Korean Premier to reduce the manpower of both North and South Korean armies, however, is possible and this plan really deserves consideration.

Disarmament in Korea is possible from the following reasons: Firstly, there no longer exists any danger of aggression from either side although both Koreas may reduce their military manpower and buildup, as both countries are now tied to their respective mutual defense pacts. Secondly, since disarmament in Korea does not imply the abolishment of the Military Demarcation Line, there will be no "indirect aggression" dreaded so much by South Korea. And lastly, if both Koreas would make declarations on an accord on disarmament agreement and utilize the good offices of an international body such as the standing Neutral

Nations Supervisory Commission to verify the execution of the agreement, recognition of the North Korean government or direct contact with the North Korean authorities so disliked by the South Korean government can be evaded and thus disarmament realized.

Beneficial to Both Koreas

Now what would be the effects of such disarmament? Not only will the tensions in the Korean peninsula be eased and peace ensured in the Far East, but the antagonistic feelings between North and South Korea will be softened and an atmosphere for unification will surely be created by disarmament. Unification is to rebuild a united Korea wherein the divided fellow countrymen will join hands again to live together. To ease the antagonistic feelings between North and South Korea, therefore, is an absolute necessity for Korean unification and in this sense, disarmament in Korea will be a drastic step towards promotion of unification.

Then the benefits of disarmament will be greatly felt in terms of national finance and economy. The unbecoming military manpower and buildups have been the sore causes of impoverishment. As disarmament will bring about drastic cuts in defense expenditures, living standards of the people will be boosted. Some fools, however, say that if South Korean should reduce its armament and thereby lose its position as an American base, South Korea would be cut off assistance by the United States and its economy would collapse. But statistics clearly show that South Korea is spending more of its own earnings on defense than it gets as U.S. assistance. Disarmament in Korea, therefore, will undoubtedly bring about immense benefits to all of Korea.

United Nations and Cuba

On the eve of United Nations 17th birthday (Oct. 24), the United States enforced the shocking blockade against Cuba. The world was literally shuddered by the danger of a nuclear war. With the evacuation of the Soviet bases in Cuba, however, immediate tensions were eased and the problem is now before the United Nations pending peaceful settlement.

The attention of the world is now focused on the United Nations and our greatest concern is the manner and principle by which the conflict will be settled.

During the seventeen years of U.N. history, the interests of the small powers were apt to be sacrificed before those of the Big Powers. The inclination is gradually being remedied and the United Nations is changing into a world body to serve all nations equally.

But the Big Power consciousness is still there and some powers still consider the United Nations their own tool and are apt to ignore the U.N. principle of "equal rights and self-determination of the peoples" and they look down on the small nations as their subject states.

The United States blockade and air surveillance against Cuba cannot be justified in any ways. Cuba must not be sacrificed by the United Nations. If the Big Powers brandishing their military might are still going to have their way, the world organization will again recede back into its old status of an attendant to the Big Powers.

In dealing with the Cuban crisis, we request the member nations to explore effective measures to put a check on the arbitrariness of the Big Powers.

FALLACIOUS UNCURK REPORT

Defense of Military Government

The 1962 UNCURK Report to be discussed by the General Assembly in Dec. is an all-out approval of the activities and policies of the ROK military government. The UNCURK, in defiance of its original tasks and the spirit of the United Nations, has dared to serve as a full-fledged spokesman for the South Korean militarists.

I False Report

Justification of Military Government. The Annual Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) was presented to the 17th session of the U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 21. The Report extends into 165 pages (including annex) in covering the events in South Korea during the period from Dec. 4, 1961 to Sept. 1, 1962. Despite all the words spent, it is the same old stereotyped report written only to defend the present rulers of South Korea.

The UNCURK, which has long forgotten its missions assigned to it by the United Nations, has been as inactive as a dead dog during the past year. Having nothing to report of its own doings, the Commission has spent all the pages of the report on painting a rosy picture to justify the activities and policies of the ROK military government.

It gives one the impression that the UNCURK has become a spokesman of the ROK militarists. In contrast to the rather restrained tone of last year's report, the new Report contains hardly a word critical towards the military regime. Instead, it goes on to approve the brutal devastation of the democratic systems and the economic blunders committed by the militarists as necessary reforms in the process of a "revolution".

The atrocious suppressions done on the peaceful unificationers and the basic rights of the people are deliberately omitted to save the militarists from embarrassment. In short, the Report has arranged, falsified, distorted and omitted facts to serve the canses of the military regime. This is the commanding tone of the false Report, but let us observe closer the earnest defense the Commission has put in for the militarists.

II Omission of Outrages against Unificationers

Deliberate Omission. The most notable point of the Report in relation to the Korean unification question, is that the Commission has again deliberately ignored the atrocious suppression being committed by the military regime on the peaceful unification movement in South Korea. Though stating in Chapter 11 (Korean Question) that "the Commission has continued to follow closely developments relating to the question of the unification of Korea", not a word is spent on the severe sentences passed by the "Revolutionary Court" on the peaceful unificationers.

Publisher Cho Yong-Su of the news-

paper Minjok Ilbo and Socialist Party Organization Chief, Choi Paik-Keun, both prominent unification leaders, were hanged on Dec. 21, 1961. Eleven leaders of the National Council for Self-Unification and seven officials of the Federal Korean Teachers Trade Unions were finalized their prison terms on Jan. 19, 1962. And fourteen officials of the United Socialist Party were sentenced to prison terms, while Chairman of the Bereaved Families Association, Lee Won-Shik, was given death sentence (later extenuated to life term) on Feb. 9. Out of the total of 215 peaceful unificationers tried, more than 70 persons were convicted on false charges of "anti-state activities".

The major task assigned to the UNCURK, it should be recalled, is to "facilitate the removal of barriers to economic, social and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea, and make available its good offices and prepared to assist, whenever in its judgment a favorable opportunity arises, in bringing about the unification of Korea (General Assembly resolution 195).

The peaceful unificationers above had worked strictly within the line set by this resolution, but were victimized by the militarists as scapegoats to put a Communist scare on the nation as well as to show the world that the militarists were fullfledged anti-Communists. Now what use is there to have the UNCURK in Korea if it cannot even point out such outrages done? Or is it so tied with certain interest that it must close its eyes on all the ill-doings by the militarists?

Shamefacedness. The shamefacedness of the UNCURK does not end there. In place of the complete omission of the outrages on peaceful unificationers, the Report has spent a half page on describing the empty statements by Supreme Council Chairman Park Chun-Hee on unification. "In a New Year's message to the North," the Report writes, "Chairman Park Chung-Hee, expressing regret for the continued division of the country, said that the Government of the Republic of Korea has been "sincerely doing its utmost to attain the unification of this nation through peaceful and realistic means." The Republic of Korea was advocating the unification of the divided land through a general election in both the north and the south, under the supervision of the United Nations...This general election on proportion to each part's population was regarded as the most understandable and fairest to the people in the north. Chairman Park added that "although we are doing our best to materialize this plan, it has been obstructed by the adamant objection of the Communists in the north."

A great amount of awkward finishing touches has been done here by the Commission in behalf of Park. The militarists have never done anything in the direction of unification. They have never wholeheartedly advocated the unification formula through U.N.-supervised free elections. Neither have they presented any peaceful, realistic plan for unfication. Instead they have posted this bellicose slogan known as the "revolutionary pledge no. 5" which calls for strengthening "our material power and determination to combat Communism, looking forward to the eventual achievement of our unchangeable goal of national unification."

Anti-Unification. In line with this disturbing slogan, the military regime has been pursuing ruthless anti-unification policies. On top of the ruthless persecution of the peaceful unificationers, the militarists enacted a new "Anti-Communism Law" which stipulates that any person advocating views on unification similar to that of the North Korean Communists shall be punished as "collaborators" regardless of actual collaboration. Meanwhile, they have drastically increased defense expenditures far beyond the capacity of the country to excel at least in the arms race with North Korea. The 5-year economic plan was drafted to boost the war potential of South Korea. The true mind of the militarists apparently

is to eventually conquer the north by force which point in fact, is revealed in their "revolutionary pledge."

The bellicose attitude of the ROK military government seems to have caused anxiety even to the insensible members of the UNCURK. In another statement quoted by the Report, Park said: "We should liberate our fellow countrymen in North Korea from Communist tyranny and oppression, and let them share freedom with us, as soon as we can." To ward off the perilous tone of the statement, the Report takes pains to insert: "In its contact with leaders of the military government, the Commission has been repeatedly assured that the latter continues to abide by its pledges to support a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Korean question under established United Nations principles."

But, how can the UNCURK be so sure of the militarists who have broken nearly all their haphazard promises? As far as peaceful unification is concerned, the militarists have not done a thing to show any interest. On the contrary, they are dead against it and have done almost everything including murder to obstruct it and, therefore, perpetuate the division of the country.

III Defense of Military Rule

"Surgical Operations." The Report then proceeds to put in an extensive defense for the political policies of the military government. The Commission, first of all, seeks ground for justifying the harassing military government in the militarists' commitment to return the government to civilian control. Stating that "the development of representative government was interrupted on 16 May 1961", the Report bypasses the question of legality of the military government and puts in an excuse for the militarists in connection with this interruption: "Spokesmen of the military government have affirmed that this was a suspension only, and described the revolution as a "surgical operation"." Then it ventures on to say: "In this year the Commission has observed developments and preparations for the return to civilian representative government rather than the direct functioning of such a government. In the political as in other fields of activity, the "surgical operation" has involved a strenuous year of activity."

The thorough destruction of the democratic system of government which the UNCURK has never cared about, was not done to rid South Korea of corrupt and inefficient government as the militarists have publicized. The "surgical operation" which the Commission is so eager to quote was employed to eliminate all the potential opposition of the militarist so they can build up their dictatorship safe and sound. Subsequent events have come to tell the story.

No Restoration of Civilian Rule. The restoration of civilian government, in truth, has been so mutilated that it would simply be useless to go through the trouble. The Political Activities Purification Law enforced last March barred en masse all the politicians opposed to the military regime from politics until Aug. 15. 1968. The militarists have also been reorganizing the National Reconstruction Movement so that it can send their favorite candidates as well as themselves to the new national assembly. Then the constitution, form of government, and election laws are being tailored to serve the militarists. And it is an already established schedule that Park Chung-Hee will run for the presidency while other junta members will continue to participate in the government.

Thus there will be no restoration of a truly representative government. The coming elections will be enforced only to provide the military dictatorship a

front of legality. The "strenuous year of activity" was spent on this sinister job of remoulding democracy into a political system to serve only the militarists. It must, therefore, be said that the UNCURK deliberately avoided putting the the facts together to indicate the perilous and unwelcoming situation. Mere promise of restoring civilian rule which the Report likes to emphasize as a good sign, cannot deceive anyone.

It must again be questioned: what in the world is the UNCURK doing in Korea? Forgetting or throwing away its duty to watch and guide the democratic development in Korea, the UNCURK has definitely become a dead dog.

Political Purification Law. The Political Activities Purification Law is assessed by the Report as a "law of special interest in the development of representative government." In the eyes of the UNCURK, the law may seem another necessary reform, but that does not allow it to ignore the bitter opposition and resistance shown towards it by the "established politicians".

It should be recalled that President Yun Po-Sun who had been retained in office to give a seeming legality to the military regime threw in his resignation on March 22 in protest against the unjustful purge law. All responsible conservative politicians like New Democratic Party Chairman Kim Do-Yun boycotted the screening enforced under the law. Ousted Premier Chang Myun expressed anxiety that the law would do great damage to the principles of democracy. Professors and lawyers criticized that the law was a challenge on the idea of free society infringing on basic human rights.

As the major aim of the law was to shut the progressive forces out from future politics, the resistance by the influential conservative politicians caused great disconfiture to the militarists. They finally had to employ every means of pressure and appeasement to get these politicians to submit to the screening but to no avail. Not one politician of note did apply.

These significant facts closely related to the development of representative government too were overlooked by the Report. And instead, the resignation of President Yun is lightly disposed of as a mere "change in the government" and not a word is spared to show the kind of new political faces appearing. as results of the screening.

To cover up for the sinister ways of the militarists, the Report spends 3 paragraphs to explain the queer idea of "administrative democracy" being preached by Park Chung-Hee. The Commission applauds that the military government has put aspects of this theory into practice in various ways and lists the reforms and training programs carried out by the militarists. But administrative reforms enforced by threatening officials at the point of bayonets have nothing in common with democratic government. The UNCURK must be out of their minds to confuse such with democracy. When pleading for the militarists' case comes to such extent, we must say that the members of the UNCURK are worshipers of militarism.

No Mention of Suppression of Basic Rights. Being inclined to the military government, the UNCURK has closed its eyes towards all the atrocities being committed by the militarists on the people's fundamental rights. The Report does not refer to the continuous demands by the public to abolish the martial law which has been in force for more than a year. Nor does it say anything about the continued restrictions on freedoms of speech, association, assembly or labor movements.

More than 300 students who defied the martial law to demonstrate for conclusion of a status of forces agreement between South Korean and the U.S. were arrested. The Report only says: "the period was a relatively stable one in that political life was not marked by the frequent demonstrations and incidents of former years

except there were only a few demonstration by university students in June 1962."

"Revolutionary Trials." The Report expresses relief in the termination of the "Revolutionary Trials" on May 10. But in relation to the executions of peaceful unificationers, Cho Yong-Su and Choi Paik-Keun, the Commission admits that "the charges were serious ones and that the trials were held in public". No international body has ever openly declared approval of the sinister "revolutionary trials". The U.S. authorities raised the arbitrariness of the trials as the main reason for them to put off conclusion of a status of forces agreement until restoration of civilian rule. The unjust trial and execution of publisher Cho Yong-Su bought the wrath of the free presses throughout the world. Yet the UNCURK which, in name, represents the United Nations has dared to approve the cruel and unfair trials. It is absolutely inexcusable for the UNCURK, whose taks is to promote peaceful unification, should approve execution of peaceful unificationers.

IV Covering-Up for Economic Blunders

Approval of Economic Policies. In relation to the economic situation in South Korea, the UNCURK seems somewhat more frank in admitting the actual situation. The Commission perhaps, realizes that the facts and figures of stark reality will speak for themselves or that to reveal economic failures may be less damaging to the prestige of the military government. Still, in general, the Report approves all the economic measures and policies enforced by that government and has not forgotten to cover up for the blunders committed by the militarists. The Report says that the economic reforms enforced by the military government are "steps generally necessary and leading in the right direction, and that given time and political stability, they should have a salutary effect on the course of economic development in Korea."

Five-Year Plan. Many doubts, however, must be raised here. The five-year economic development plan, for one, is no realistic plan leading the nation in the right direction. American officials called the plan, envisaging an economic growth of 7.1% per year, as "fantastic". The targets listed are definitely impossible figures in the capacity of South Korea.

The Report admits that great difficulties will have to be surmounted in the implementation of the plan. It questions how the plan is to spend annually on consumption and investment more than the gross national product. It also questions the capacity of the Korean economy to absorb the planned investment. But asides pointing out that the problem of availability of skilled manpower is one of the principle difficulties, the Commission has evaded answering the essential questions, on ground that the points are not dealt in detail by the plan.

Obviously it is not the figures on paper that will decide the possibility of implementation. If the Commission possessed the knowledge and courage enough, it could have easily brought down a clear-cut assessment of the plan. The greatest weak-point of the plan lies not in the lack of skilled labor but the over-reliance on foreign investments. 28% of total investments or $683.6 million is to come from abroad. And the lag-behind in the inducement of foreign capital as well as domestic capital is already rendering the government to revise the plan. Without questioning the obvious outcome of the adventure, the unrealistic basis of the plan is already misleading the country.

Currency Reform. As regards the disastrous currency reform in June, the Report takes the announcements by the military government at their words: "The

aim of the reform was to flush out hoarded funds and channel them into productive industrial ventures. Thus it was sought to establish a sounder monetary order and remove obstacles to the implementation of the five-year plan".

The currency reform was enforced haphazardly without due preparations. It is no longer a secret in Korea that the reform was necessitated by the "stock market crisis" brought about by the scandalous operations involving the military government leaders to swindle some 100 billion hwan out of the stock market. The failure in the attempt compelled the militarists to finance illegal loans amounting to 37.2 billion hwan to save the stock market. And so to cover up for the scandalous dealings, the reckless reform was enforced so hurriedly.

The currency reform failed ensuing disastrous effects on the economy. To explain the failure of the reform that ended in defreezing of all the freezed deposits, the Commission in parrot-like fashion, repeats the apologies of the military government: "In an exploratory statement issued on the same day (July 13) Prime Minister Kim Hyun-Chul said that there was not as much hoarded money as had been expected."

The defreeze, as a matter of fact was brought about by public pressure and foreign persuasion. Still the report goes on to talk about the "benefits" of the reform.

Stock Market Boom. The Report puts the blame of the stock market crash, in which innocent investors lost big fortunes, on the speculative elements of the market. Nothing is mentioned about the open meddling in the market done by the government in the name of "fostering the stock market". Instead the Commission raises three causes of the boom: "One was the high degree of liquidity prevailing in the economy. There was also a rush to take advantage of the stock revaluations. The third reason which stimulated the future transactions was the introduction of a new method called ordinary transactions introduced by the new Securities Exchange Law which became effective on 1, April 1962."

These were only secondary causes of the boom and crash. The real cause was the manipulative grand operation masterminded by ex-Finance Minister Chun Byung-Kyu with the support of Chairman Park Chung-Hee and in cooperation with stock dealers. The Korea Stock Exchange shares were used as "riggers" to lure the public into the market and stock prices literally soared led by the Stock Exchange shares. Responsible officials of the Stock Exchange opposed the operations but pressure was employed by the finance minister. So the abnormal bull market soared until the Stock Exchange ran up against clearance difficulty and the market crashed.

V Conclusion

(1) The UNCURK Annual Report has been presented to the General Assembly as a U.S. draft resolution. Eleven such reports have been submitted so far up to the last session, and the reports always defended the ruling ROK government while ignoring the outrages committed by the rulers on democracy and the unification movements. For this account, the UNCURK report which has become a mere routine affair in the General Assembly is charged as an "American Item."

(2) So, this report too has arranged, falsified, distorted and omitted facts to justify the causes of the military government. This in turn serves the UNCURK. To point out and criticize the overdoings and failures of the military government would mean admitting the failures and inactivity of the UNCURK itself. Admittance of the failure of the UNCURK will

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COLLAPSING FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Lack of Funds

The five-year economic development plan is collapsing before its first year is over. The militarists are employing desparate measures and running heaven and earth to get the needed funds. But the vainful efforts are winning only the disgust of the nation. In below is a sharp criticism of the plan by a Seoul daily editorial showing the public mind and disastrous state of the "fantastic plan".

Militarists' Dream Castle

Economic development plans seldom succeed in countries lacking the conditions for growth. And even where such plans have succeeded, the most intensive concentration of national resources, energy and genius was needed. The five-year economic degelopment plan of the ROK military regime launched in January this year was already called "fantastic" in its drafting stage. It possessed no chances of succeeding since South Korea is in total want of everything except earnestness of the militarists.

Koreans knew that the militarsts were building a "house upon sand" and lamented that all the efforts would end in vain. The tragedy lies in the predicament of the nation being unwillingly driven into the fool-hardy adventure.

The militarists, nevertheless, in the fashion of the despotic feudal lord who plundered his own fief to build and adorn his castle, have done a lot of exploiting around for the sake of this "dream plan". The worst of which was the reckless currency reform of last June by which the militarists sought to snatch some 100 billion hwan out of the nation's pockets to invest in the 5-year plan. There was also the notorious stock market operation wherein countless bona fide investors were made suckers of the scandal in which the military leaders sought to fish out 100 billion hwan as earnings to turn over to the 5-year plan.

The failures in these attempts panicked the nation. Innocent people lost money, production dropped, shops closed, credit was undermined and the already stagnant economy lost its last color of vitality.

To save the collapsing 5-year plan, the militarists then turned their eyes on the ROK-Japan normalization talks where a big sum of payment by the Japanese is envisaged. As the Americans and Europeans would not invest in South Korea so willingly as they seemed, the money involved in the talks became the last hope for the militarists to procure the necessary funds for their economic development projects. They have lowered former claims and even disclosed intentions of settling with the Japanese at less than half the price claimed heretofore.

Is the 5-year plan worth all the sacrifice? Even U.S. officials now openly criticize the plan. They say it's no plan but a "shopping list of hopes." Much more would Koreans feel it intolerable. The ROK public is now clamoring for a thorough revision of the plan. The following is an interesting editorial written by a professor of economics and editorial writer of the Seoul daily Hankook Ilbo:

FIVE-YEAR PLAN FACING GRAVE TEST

Hankook Ilbo Editorials (Sept. 19 & 20) by Kim Jung-Tae

Turning Point

The first year of the 5-Year Economic Development Plan has just about gone with only the last quarter remaining. The grand plan of the revolutionary government was drafted in line with its revolutionray pledge: "to provide relief for poverty-stricken and hungry people, and devote our entire energies toward the development of a self-sustaining economy." The nation which had suffered so much under impoverishment brought about by the maladministration of previous governments, welcomed the 5-year plan as a torch lightening the dark and determined itself to endure in the work to accomplish the targets set.

Has the 5-year plan been progressing as planned during the current year? It seems that the initial excitement has faded and things are not going as expected. Here must be raised the opinion that the plan may be in need of a drastic revision. Being the first year, things naturally wouldn't go as planned. But the trial-and-error method employed on account of the want in experience and the defects of the plan have a lot to do with the setbacks. It is a hard fact that the 5-year plan faces now a grave turning point.

Not Too Ambitious Plan

The primary goals of the 5-year plan are to overcome the backwardness of our economy, modernize the industries and build up a selfsustaining economy. For this, the plan estimates an annual economic growth rate of 7.1% in order to raise the living standard of the populace increasing at a pace of 2.9% per year. We have no intentions to charge the plan as impossible or too ambitious. On the contrary, it should be said a modest plan since it only aims at raising the present lowly gross national product of $72 per capita to $86 at the end of the 5-year period. This is not any impossible undertaking to get the nation climb out of the lowest group of nations in terms of GNP.

In order to realize this, the plan, in its target year (1966), calls for production of rice at 29,000,000 suks; fishery and marine products, 420,000 tons; cement 1,400,000 tons and electricity, 4.5 billion KW (1.8 billion KW in 1961). The projected proportion of major industries in the target year, by the way, will be primary industries, 34.8% (basic year 1960=36%); secondary, 26.1% (1960=18.2%) and tertiary, 39.1% (1960=45.7%). Thus to modernize the economic structure of South Korea, these targets are not as "ambitious" as foreign circles have criticized.

It is the absolutely necessary minimum figure in order to enable the South Korean populace which will before long reach the 30 million mark, to counter the Communist ideological warfare by overcoming the poverty which at present provides an opening for Communist penetration and make gains in the race to catch up with the prospering advanced nations. The plan is not a hasty industrialization plan nor is its targets unattainable when compared to the plans of other nation nor is its economic growth rate exceptionally too earnest.

Take for example the 7-year plan of North Korea. Its scale just about corresponds to that of South Korea's 5-year plan. And judging from foreign informations, the accomplishments by North Korea cannot be brushed aside as mere propaganda. So, the targets of our 5-year plan must be attained at all costs for us to compete with the North Koreans. For this sake, the economic

growth rate of North Korea was set as a target in drafting the South Korean plan. Success or failure of the plan, therefore, will not only affect future living standards but also ensue grave results directly connected with the safety of the Republic of Korea.

Unsatisfactory Year

Still, it is an unconcealably clear fact that the accomplishments during the past nine months of the first year of the plan was extremely unsatisfactory. For example, the plan estimated this year's foreign currency earnings at $484 million, of which $174 million was to be earned through special procurement sales to the U.N. forces in Korea. But, so far, the actual earnings indicate that the attainment of the target is impossible.

Judging from all available datas and actual exports including special U.S. military procurements, even 80% of the 1962 target seems difficult to accomplish. The reasons for the setback are the bad showing of dollar earnings through exports and procurement of goods and services by the United Nations agencies in Korea. Exports for the year were estimated at $15 million but realization of the goal within the year is quite difficult due to the unfavorable situation of international 'trade. Procurement contracts of goods and services by the U.N. forces in Korea, estimated for the year at $14 million, are being given big reductions following the cutting of overseas spending by the United States.

Bad Showing of Investments

The general opinion is that procurement of foreign and domestic investments are the two main elements which will decide the success or failure of the 5-year plan. The lag in the balance of payments program, therefore, must be said very grave. A total of $683.6 million is estimated for foreign investments during the 5-year period, of which about $93 million is to be secured durng the first year. By these investments, there will be built oil refineries, the Ulsan fertilizer plants, synthetic steel plants and shipbuilding docks. The first year, of plant installations but $44 million of foreign currency is needed for surveying and drafting work preceding the construction works.

In order to secure these investments, the illicit profiteers were ordered to invest their illicit earnings and through the initiative of these profiteers, inducement of foreign loans, capital investment and technical cooperation were promoted, whereby a great number of ROK businessmen travelled overseas and many foreign businessmen came to South Korea.

The results, however, were not encouraging. With only a tentative contract signed, the Ulsan fertilizer and steel plants projects were played up as if already completed through the cooperation with American public investment, until the contract was scrapped by the Americans. Then reports went around that a West German business group took over from the Americans, but success is also doubtful since the Germans have put conditions on the contract.

The aim of the revolutionary government to give the illicit profiteers a chance to cooperate in the 5-year plan seems to have misfired. Under the pretext of difficulties in inducing foreign investments, the profiteers are prologing their own investments, whereby the projects are lagging behind. What must be especially noted is that all the development projects are monopolized by a small group of businessmen composed mostly of illicit profiteers so much so that many businessmen who are capable of inviting foreign loans have been shut out from participating in the projects.

Currency Reform Fiasco and Stock Market Failure

The estimated capital investments from domestic sources for the first year seems

far from attainable too. Total domestic investments estimated for the five-year period is to be about 275.2 billion won. Of this total, 42.6 billion won is estimated for the first year 26.2 billion to come from government sources and 16.4 from civilian sources. The actual figure of these investments will not be available until the year end, but we can say that mobilization of domestic capital has failed in two respects. One is the fiasco of the "currency reform" and the other is the failure of the "nurturing plan of the stock market."

The authorities calculated raising more than 10 billion won from the deposits frozen by the recent currency reform. They also expected that immense amount of civilian capital could be mobilized from the stock market. But due to the clumsy reform measures and also public and foreign pressures, the government finally had to defreeze all the frozen deposits. The currency reform thus became not only meaningless but the "dream" of the Industrial Development Corporation which was to be established with the frozen deposits, had to be scrapped. The currency reform failure brought about far graver damages. Trust in the banking system was undermined. Bank deposits decreased due to paralyzation of the credit system and the financing system was upset due to overloaning to businesses. The recent lifting of interest on time deposits to a record rate of 15% has increased time deposits but still it is not enough to balance the loans less provide for the capital investment in the 5-year plan.

The Korea Stock Exchange which was to be nurtured to intice idle capital for the 5-year plan, has become a speculation center instead of being nurtured as a healthy market. This was the inevitable results of the miscalculation of placing expectations on a stock market of a country still in its first stage of capitalism. Due to the speculative operations done by the stock brokers using the Korea Stock Exchange shares, bona fide investors burned their fingers and on this account, public distrust towards the stock market grew and a vast amount of insecure credits had to burdened by the banks.

Drastic Revision Needed

If things are to drag along at the present tardy pace, it can be easily foreseen that the second year of the plan will also end up in failure. We have admitted that the targets of the plan are neither too ambitious nor impossibly fantastic. Why doesn't things go as planned then?

Most of all, it is because the plan relies too much on foreign assistance. We, of course, sincerely wish the United States and other friendly nations to extend help to us in our development projects by offering us loans at proper interest rates. But, foreign assistances must be considered as secondary means.

We should, on the contrary, center our efforts on earning foreign currencies by ourselves and step up construction of urgent projects such as electricity within the limits of the earned dollars. And as to the other projects, we should begin construction in the order of those which we can obtain foreign investment instead of what year of the plan the projects are fit in. And in the meantime, opportunity should be given to all capable businessmen instead of limiting the construction projects to a specific group of businesses.

As regards domestic capital, national savings movement should be promoted supported by financial, monetary and currency stabilization policies. Waste, at the same time, must be stopped by effectualizing distribution and control of government investments.

All in all, the 5-year plan is in urgent need of a thorough revision. If failures are to be repeated, the plan will end up a plan on paper and all the figures listed therein will become meaningles. In order to prevent such failure, we propose a thorough review of the plan.

NORTH KOREA RENEWS PROPOSALS ON UNIFICATION

Premier Kim Il Sung of North Korea, in his address to the Supreme People's Assembly on Oct. 23, gave a full outline of his country's stand on Korean unification and renewed his former proposals on the issue. The ousting of the U.S. imperialists from South Korea and elimination of all foreign interference, he said, are the pre-requisites for independent and peaceful unification. And as intermediate steps, he proposed conclusion of a mutual non-aggression pact between North and South Korea and set-up of a North-South joint economic committee, and when these steps are taken, forming of a federal system of governments should be enforced and free travel and political activities must be guaranteed to secure the grounds for a complete unification of Korea through all-Korea free elections, the Premier argued.

The proposals were only reiterations of the North Korean line on unification made clear by Kim Il Sung on Aug. 15, 1960 but stress was put on the disastrous state of South Korean economy brought about by the U.S. imperialist colonial rule. Instead of leaning on foreign assistances, North and South Koreans should put their resources together to save Korea, he called. The competence of the United Nations in dealing with the Korean Question was also denied by the Premier who claimed that Korean unification was a problem only to be decided by self-determination. South Koreans, therefore, he said must arise in an all-out anti-American national salvation struggle to get the U.S. imperialists out of Korea and attain unification through the independent power of the nation.

KIMIL-SUNG ADDRESS

Terrorism Cannot Subdue the People's Demands

Dear Representatives. The great accomplishments of socialist construction in the northern half of the republic are bearing revolutionary effects on the South Korean people held under the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. The balance between revolutionary and anti-revolutionary forces is tipping in favor of the former. Constantly encouraged by the great victory won by their fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters of North Korea in their socialist development, the South Korean people have risen in a heroic struggle. They brought down the Syngman Rhee regime that hung over their heads and are presently unfolding a continuous and enduring struggle against the colonial rule by U.S. imperialists and the military dictatorshp.

The developments in South Korea since the April People's Uprisings indicate that U.S. imperialism whether by "lawful" change of government or establishment of a terroristic discatorship through use of violence, can neither resolve the political and economic crisis in South Korea nor subdue the struggle by the South Korean people demanding democratic freedom, right of existence and peaceful unification of the fatherland. Despite the bloody suppression being done by the

U.S. imperialists and the South Korean military regime, anti-American feeling is intensifying widely among the masses and the patriotic and democratic forces are gradually gaining in number and strength in South Korea.

During the year since the military fascist clique took over, the political and economic crisis in South Korea has aggravated. Economy has been bankcrupt, livelihood of the people is continuously worsening and corruption and social disorder are getting ever rampant. All political parties and social organizations in South Korea were disbanded and martial law is in force over a year already.

While committing the most brutal atrocities on the democratic self- government of the people, the South Korean military regime is trying to appease the people by such rosy words as "development of a self-sustaining economy" or "the five-year economic development plan" or "to provide relief to poverty-stricken people". But being but a tool of U.S. imperialist colonial rule, there is not a soul in South Korea who would expect such from the South Korean military regime. It is all clear that such is but an empty wish having no roots.

Destruction of National Economy

The South Korean economy held under the occupation by the U.S. imperialists has been plunged into an unsalvagable state of ruin. U.S. imperialists have thoroughly destructed the South Korean national economy by grabbing the life line of the economy and subjugating it to U.S. military objectives. Pressured by the U.S. monopolistic capital and South Korean subordinated capital, the national industries of South Korea have been strangled and sent into bankruptcy. Owing to mounting difficulties in acquiring raw materials, funds and market, industrial production has decreased another 9% during the year since the military regime was set up in South Korea.

South Korean agriculture also has been devastated into miserable conditions. The farming populace is still being widely and cruelly exploited under the feudal land system. Plundered and exploited by U.S. imperialists and landlords, South Korean agriculture has fallen into deeper decay. Cultivated or planted acreage is continuously declining. Production is still being done by backward, middle-age methods. In such manner, South Korea which used to be the grain belt of Korea, has degraded into an area of chronic hunger where 5 million suks of U.S. surplus grains must be imported each year.

Pressed by the over-all economic ruin and merciless exploitation by U.S. imperialists, landlords and subordinated capitalists, livelihood of the South Korean people has fallen into a wretched state underscribable by words. Millions of workers are at a complete lost without jobs and wandering on the brink of starvation without any hopes of relief. 60% of the working population of South Korea is unemployed or partly unemployed to-

day.

The U.S. imperialists have thoroughly devastated the economic life of South Korea, thrown the South Korean people into a miserable state beyond words and transformed all of South Korea into a living hell wherein mass terrorism and brutal suppression reign.

The lives and properties of the people are always being menaced by American burglars and, our fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters are being insulted and massacred by the aggressors. Mass starvation is threatening entire South Korea and many Koreans die each day of hunger. These are the results which U.S. imperialist colonial rule and traitorious policies of the South Korean rulers have brought about on South Korea.

The only way by which to resolve the present situation in South Korea and to deliver the South Korean people from the agonies of hunger and impoverishment is to get the U.S. armed forces out and realize unification of the country. With-

out attaining complete independence and unification of the fatherland, the Korean people will never live in peace nor South Koreans be delivered from the present whetched circumstances. To accomplish great work of unification is the common the aspiration of every North and South Korean. It is the supreme task of the nation. Unification of our fatherland must be realized independently and peacefully by getting all the foreign forces out of Korea and without any foreign intervention.

Independent Unification by Ousting Foreign Forces

The U.S. imperialists are clamoring that U.S. troops must be stationed in South Korea to defend it against "Communist aggressors from the north." No one, however, will be fooled by this lie of the U.S. imperialists. Our party and people's government have always been working for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We have no intentions to invade the south or settle the Korean unification question through the use of force. "Communist aggressors from the north" is but a smoke-screen created by the U.S. imperialists to conceal their brutal objectives to continue their occupation of South Korea and extend their aggression into the whole of Korea and other parts of Asia.

The South Korean people must thoroughly expose and crush the treacherous maneuvering by the U.S. imperialists trying to encroach on the whole of Korea by making Koreans fight one another. We recognize that the United Nations possess no right to discuss the Korean question or to interfere in our internal affairs. The Korean question is a question not to be discussed by foreigners in New York or Washington but should be discussed by Korean in Pyongyang or Seoul. The Korean unification question is an internal affair of the Korean people and can only be settled by the Koreans themselves. On what grounds may foreign powers interfere in our internal affairs? And how can they settle domestic problems pertaining to the Korean nation? To try to realize unfication by relying on foreign forces is an illusion and such will only cast away the whole of Korea into the jaws of imperialist aggressors. The Korean people are fully capable of unifying the fatherland by our own powers and this is what must be done.

Unification of Korea is a complex and difficult work not to be easily accomplished. Under the circumstances where U.S. imperialists the ring-leader of all imperialists, are madly contriving to provoke new wars on top of occupying South Korea and executing aggressive policies against the whole of Korea as well as other parts of Asia, we can only accomplish this great work of Korean unification through long and difficult struggle. Peaceful unification of our country must be realized step by step by first getting the foreign armed forces out of South Korea.

Conclusion of Mutual Non-Aggression Pact

It is most important to eliminate the tensions created between the north and south by the U.S. imperialists in order to realize unification of our country. A peace agreement providing evacuation of U.S. armed forces and non-aggression between North and South Korea must be signed and the armies of North and South Korea must be reduce to 100,000 men or under.

We have often made this proposal and have done all we could in this direction. The Korean people do not wish to fight one another nor to waste their own valuable fruits of labor on civil strife. Armies must not be strengthened nor arms preparation stepped up. North and South Korea must concentrate together their efforts on developing the national economy and improving the people's livelihood by reducing military personnel and eliminating tensions.

The U.S. imperialists are maintaining

a 700,000-man mercenary army at the expense of the sweats and blood of the South Korean people. This vast military force of South Korea is not there for national defense but is a tool to serve the aggressive policies of the U.S., imperialists . It has not only become an intolerable burden to the South Korean people but is creating a big threat towards peace in Korea.

Proposing a North-South Joint Economic Committee

When the tensions between the north and south are eliminated, we can advance a step forward to realize economic and cultural interchange and cooperation. It is an urgent problem to reconstruct the ruined economy of South Korea and also improve the livelihood of the South Korea people. To realize North-South economic and cultural tie-up and contrive interchange and cooperation is the only way by which to solve this problem.

Guided by the leadership of our party, the people in the northern half of Korea, through heroic struggle, have established the basis of industrialization and built a solid self-sustaining base of national economy. This economic base built by us in North Korea will be a firm guarantee for an independent development of the entire Korean national economy.

In order to execute an effective North-South interchange, we consider it necessary to establish an Economic Committee constituted by representatives of both North and South Korea. Going against the will of the Korean people, the South Korean authorities are trying to find a way out of the difficulty be inducing foreign capital. To bring in foreign capital is the road to subjugation and ruin of the nation. It would only plunge the devastated South Korean economy into a far irrelievable depth of ruin and send South Korea into further subjugation to imperialism. This is clearly shown by the results of U.S. aids to South Korea during the 17 years since Liberation. When north and south join their hands in the work to develop the rich resources of Korea by utilizing the powerful economic base in North Korea, our nation not only can live healthily by its own powers but also can construct a cultured, rich and powerful independent nation.

Promote Unification by Forming Federal System

When North-South interchange and mutual cooperation are realized, we would be able to move on to take a drastic mearsure of accomplishing the first stage of unification. We consider it reasonable to enforce the federal system which our party and government have proposed.

The federal system calls for setting up of a supreme national committee which will be composed of representatives of both North and South Korean governments and will jointly dispose problems of common concern to the nation while leaving the present social and political systems of North and South Korea as they are and also maintaining independence of the respective functions of the governments. Under such federal system, the north and south shall not interfere in the internal affairs of the other and neither will force its will on the other. North and South Korea shall act freely in accords with their respective political convictions and shall only jointly solve those problems of common national interest through agreement reached by that federal body.

The enforcement of the federal system, moreover, will open up a very profitable way to accomplish a complete peaceful unification of the fatherland by promoting North-South contact and mutual understanding, strengthening of the political and economic ties and creating an atmosphere of national harmony. By treading such intermediate steps, will we reach a complete unffication of our fatherland.

Guarantee of Freedom of Travel and Activity

As our party and government have clearly declared so often, a unified central government must be established through all-Korea free elections based on democratic principles and represented by delegates from every field and class of North and South Korea, in order to realize a complete unification of our country. Elimination of all foreign intervention and guarantee of freedom to travel and perform political activities are the prerequisites to an all-Korean free elections.

The suppression of the people's patriotic and democratic movements in South Korea must be terminated at once and the freedoms of speech, publication, association, assembly, demonstration and strike must be guaranteed. All political parties and social organizations disbanded by the military regime must be restored and complete freedom of activity must be ensured.

All political parties, social organizations and individuals of North and South Korea must be enabled to act freely in any area of the country and openly express their political views in public without restrictions. Only when these conditions are guaranteed will the Korean people be able to establish an all-Korea centtral government through genuine free elections and thus realize complete peaceful unification of the country.

Such standpoint of the Korean Workers' Party and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea government in regards to unification of the fatherland, is the reflex of the interests of the entire nation and also the will of the entire Korean people. Some South Koreans stubbornly oppose this by arguing that South Korea would be "communized" if independent and peaceful unification is realized. Whether the ideals of Communism will be realized in South Korea or not, is a matter to be decided by the South Korean people themselves and no one can force that on them. No advanced ideas or social systems can be compelled from the outside. It is a problem to be decided by the free will of the people themselves. To oppose unfication under the pretext of "communization" of South Korea is to oppose the aspiration of the people driving towards unfication and to go against the vital interest of the entire nation.

Anachronistic Idea: Unification by Destroying Communism

The rulers of South Korea are still advocating the out-of-date idea of unfication by "destroying Communism". They are clamoring for strengthening national power to destroy Communism. The adventure to destroy Communism by forcing a colonical system on the whole of Korean with the powers of imperialism has already been tested so vainly and there remain no hopes for such to succeed. The forty years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule could not annihilate the Communist movement in Korea. Syngman Rhee, whose life work was to destroy Communism, not only failed in his devotion in spite of the assistance offered by the U.S. imperialists but was ruined himself forsaken by the people due to his own crimes. Those stubborn South Koreans who are given to anti-Communism should learn from these historical facts. Those who venture to follow Syngman Rhee shall end up in the same fate.

Unification of Korea is not a problem where one side will devour the other up. It is merely a problem where a single nation previously united, recovers its national unity by liberating itself completely from the fetters of imperialism. Such vainful ideas as "destroying Communism" or "conquering Communism" not only lack any chances of succeeding but must be said extremely harmful ideas aimed at obstructing unification and perpetuat ing national division.

Arise in Anti-American National Salvation Struggle!

To promote mutual understanding between the north and south in all fields of activity, strengthening of nation harmony and solidarity of the nation is the most important task to gain unification. It will be but serving the U.S. imperialists if the north and south should continue to fight and envy one another and cannot attain national solidarity. Imperialist aggressors dread, above all, the growth of national consciousness and solidarity. In order to gain their aggressive objectives, the imperialists are carrying out every evil measure to undermine national solidarity, breed discord within the nation and aggitate antagonism. All patriotic people of North and South Korea must decisively crush the national alienation policy of the U.S. imperialists and firmly unite under the flag ofAnti-American National Salvation struggle and Korean unification.

We will join ranks and advance along with all those persons who will stand for the interests of the nation and fight for unification without questioning their past or political beliefs. If the present rulers of South Korea would put an end to their traitorious collusion with the foreign aggressors and the suppression of the people and arise in the struggle for independent and peaceful unification of the nation, we could join ranks with them too. But, if these rulers would not repent and continue to flatter foreign forces, suppress the people's just struggle for the right of existence and democracy and dare to obstruct unification, they will be committing an eternally indelible crime in front of the entire nation and, therefore, cannot avoid getting tried before the entire Korean nation.

Unity must be gained between the socialist forces of North Korea and the patriotic and democratic forces of South Korea. The entire nation must firmly unite to oppose the aggression by U.S. imperialists and fight for peaceful unification of the fatherland. Laborers, farmers, soldiers, youths, students, intellectuals and persons of every field and class in South Korea must courageously arise in the national salvation struggle to fight the U.S. imperialists.

All-out Effort for Unification

The South Korean people must struggle against the agressions and war policies of the U.S. imperialists and firmly reject any cooperation with the aggressive forces. South Koreans must also put a stop on the barbarities being committed by U.S. troops and unfold a decisive struggle to oust the aggressors from the land. South Koreans must, furthermore, struggle against the reactionary forces of South Korea as well as the U.S. imperialists whom they are tied with.

We are now living in a glorious age of national revolution wherein every oppressed nation has arisen courageously to throw off the yokes of imperialism and colonialism and win freedom and independence. The battle cries of national liberation are echoing throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. In such an age, why should the brave and resourceful Korean nation possessing a history and culture with thousands of years behind and inheriting so glorious a tradition in revolutions, yield to the suppression byYankee imperialism and acquiesce to the colonial state of servitude?

We must all arise in the struggle to fight U.S. imperialism and the reactionary ruling forces tied with it to win national unification and complete independence of the fatherland. And when the entire nation should get united and unfold a furious anti-American national salvation struggle, the U.S. imperialist aggressors are bound to be ousted from South Korea and the great work of national unification definitely accomplished.

NEW NORTH KOREAN CABINET

On Oct. 22, the Third Congress of the Supreme People's Assembly renominated Kim Il-Sung as Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea government. The Assembly also elected its own officers and committee chairmen. Following the nomination, Premier Kim formed his new cabinet which was approved by the Assembly on Oct. 23.

The notable changes in the new line-up of the Cabinet and the Assembly are: the nominations of Hong Myong-Hui, former vice premier to the vice-chairmanship of the Assembly's Permanent Committee and former Army chief of staff Kim Chang-Man to the post of National Defence Minister.

Reorganization of the government has been done too. The agriculture ministry was split into farm construction ministry and agriculture board which indicates additional emphasis on farm administration. The internal ministry was also divided into internal ministry and social security ministry.

Cabinet

Premier: **Kim Il-Sung**
First Vice Premier: **Kim Il**
Vice Premiers: **Kim Chang-Man, Chung Il-Yong, Nam Il, Li Chong-Ok, Li Choo-Yun, Chung Jhun-Taek, Kim Kwang-Hyub**
Ministers:

National Defence, **Kim Chang-Bong**; Social Security, **Suk San**; Foreign Affairs, **Pak Sung-Chul**; State Planning Board (Chairman), **Chung Jhun-Taek**; State Construction Board (Chairman), **Nam Il**; State Science and Technical Board (Chairman), **O Dong-Uk**; Light Industry Board (Chairman), **Pak Yong-Sung**; Agriculture Board (Chairman), **Kim Man-Kum**; Mineral and Chemical, **Li Chong-Ok**; Electricity and Coal, **Chung Il-Yong**; Machinery, **Cho Dong-Sub**; Marine and Fisheries, **Choe Yong-Jin**; Forestry, **Chung Dong-Chul**; City and Industry Construction, **Kim Byung-Shik**; Farm Construction, **Kim Byung-Ik**; Transportation, **Kim Hoe-Il**; Communications, **Pak Yung-Sun**; Finance, **Han Sang-Du**; Commerce, **Kim Sae-Bong**; Grain Collection, **Han Dae-Yung**; Trade, **Li Il-Kyung**; Labor, **Paek-Sun-Il**; Internal Affairs, **Pak Mun-Kyu**; City Management, **Yum Tae-Jun**; Higher Education, **Kim Chong-Hang**; Elementary Education, **Yun Ki-Bok**; Culture, **Pak Ung-Kul** Health and Welfare, **Choe Chang-Suk**

UNCURK Report

(Continued from Page 10)

have bad bearings on the Western stand on the Korean question in the U.N. So, year in and year out, the UNCURK must go on writing up fallacious reports.

(3) The UNCURK is no body to look after the development of representative government in Korea or promote unification of Korea. Concern for the true interests of the nation is never shown. The Commission is but a mouthpiece of the rulers of South Korea.

(4) The United Nations, therefore, should realize that the UNCURK has, from its very beginning, diverted from the tasks assigned to it. It should take steps to reorganize this incompetent body which not only undermines the authority of the United Nations but also impairs the true interests of the Korean nation.

REPLY TO MR. KENNEDY'S STAND ON KOREA

This article is a refutation to Mr. Robert Kennedy's view on Korea written by Pak Duk-Man, former graduate student of Waseda University who questioned the Attorney General at his visit to the university.

A translation of U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy's "Report on Japan" was recently carried in the Tokyo Shinbun. In it, Mr. Kennedy writes about his talks with the Japanese political, business and labor leaders and also his experiences with the Japanese public.

When Mr. Kennedy visited the Waseda University where he was rather roughly treated by the students, I asked him: "Why should the United States which believes in a political philosophy of democracy, support the fascist government in South Korea which all Korean students both here and at home oppose? To this, Mr. Kennedy replied: "The present government of South Korea is carrying out necessary reforms after a long era of corruption. America hopes, in all respects, that democratic ways would be restored once the transformation period is over."

Mr. Kennedy's stand must be charged as contradicting to the standpoint of American political philosophy. Does not American philosophy place the rights of individual over that of the state and no national objective or revolutionary action can be justified when it tramples on the dignity and freedoms of the individual? Mr. Kennedy confirmed this belief at his meetings with Japanese Socialist leaders and students.

Nevertheless, Mr. Kennedy put in a defense for the military regime of South Korea. Despite the thorough suppression done on human rights, personal dignity and freedom by the militarists for their counter-revolutionary purposes, Mr. Kennedy dared to call the measures as necessary reforms.

Such stand admitting the use of force originates from Communist philosophy. Strange as it is, Mr. Kennedy has employed the Communists' philosophy here to back up the fascist regime. Not a bit of democratic philosophy can be observed in Mr. Kennedy's view on the realities in South Korea. It must now be charged that American democracy, which had welcomed the April Revolution by the ROK students in 1960, has exposed its inconsistency by switching over in favor of the militarists.

No fascist regime that destroyed national assemblies and grabbed governments has ever restored democracy. Mr. Kennedy, therefore, has overlooked the facts of history. And, in truth, the actual realities in South Korea is developing in a direction quite opposite to that which Mr. Kennedy hopes.

At the student meeting in Kyoto, Mr. Kennedy again stated that he held trust in the ROK military government since it has rooted out political corruption and promised reconstruction of the national economy and restoration of political rights and that he considered the measures taken by the military government as necessary steps in view of the circumstances.

Political corruption, however, is still rampant as ever in South Korea. The economic situation is aggravating. Even U.S. officials have declared in public that reconstructing ROK economy was an impossibility. Neither can restoration of political rights be expected from the mili-

tarists or their followers. Martial law is still in force and the national security law has been amended for the worse. Suppression on the basic rights is being tightened and countless atrocities is being committed on the people. Should Mr. Kennedy say that these are necessary measures again in front of the Korean nation, he would surely buy their wrath.

Answering another question as to whether he supported Cuba, Mr. Kennedy denounced the present Cuban government and in spite of talking about the right to self-determination, he openly made a try at justifying military intervention in Cuba. South Korea is a far worse police state than Cuba. Not only persons who oppose the present military government but those who had advocated legitimate plans of peaceful unification under previous administrations were executed by the militarists in accords with a newly enforced retroactive law.

While declaring that the U.S. hopes that every nation shall be given the right to decide its own destiny, Mr. Kennedy could give only an ambiguous reply to the question: "Why must the U.S. go on shutting Communist China out of the international society despite that it was established through self-determination?" "Communist China has not chosen a peaceful way of life." was his answer.

The right to self-determination is one of the main goals of South Korean peaceful unification movement. ROK Students and youths fought for this movement with hopes to win a better tomorrow for the nation. They even ventured to march to Panmunjom to meet their counterparts of North Korea to discuss the future of the nation. Was this not an exemplification of the "frontier spirit" that Mr. Kennedy is so fond of?

Strange as it is, however, Mr. Kennedy is against these patriotic forces of South Korea who have put his philosophy into practice and instead is in support of the destructors of those forces. Mr. Kennedy' opinion and stand on Korea betrays his own political beliefs.

This contradictory attitude of Mr. Kennedy is not limited to Korea. It commands all his views on international issues. Summarizing from his talks with Japanese political and labor leaders, Mr. Kennedy judged all those who criticizes or condemn U.S. policies as Communists or fellow travellers and considers that these elements, though few, are the authors who are destructing peace and order and creating confusions in Japan. He also reasons that the anti-American feeling among Japanese students and intellectuals exist because the Communist organization is there to aggitate them While, on the other hand he applauds the conservative politicians and students as "patriots" and "power democratic forces" to counter Communism".

However, realizing it impossible to put all the blame of the anti-American feeling on Communism, Mr. Kennedy emphasized the need to export American ideas and philosophy besides economic aids. He preached that personal dignity, self-determination, government by consent, and respect for the opposition are the basic Western political ideas. But, exposing contradictions between idea and actual politics in relation to U.S. policies on Korea, Cuba, and China, his word did not carry any weight to convince anyone.

Democracy, of course, is not a rigid idea. It is a multiple idea. Americans may pride themselves as the heirs of modern democracy but so taken to the old-fashioned type of democracy, they cannot accept other types of democracy. Here lies the narrowness of American ideas and philosophy.

NEWS OF THE MONTH Sept. 16 to Oct. 15

Presidential System Decided on by Professors

On Oct. 3, the professors of the Constitution Drafting Committee agreed that the future government of South Korea will be characterized by the presidential system and a unicameral legislature. They also agreed to provide in the constitution that more than one-third of the total votes is required to elect the President in case there is only one Presidential candidate. In Korean political history there have been no elections in which less than two candidates ran. The president will be elected by equal, direct and secret vote. The majority of the professors are of the opinion that the office of the vice president should not be established.

National Referendum Law Adopted

On Oct. 10, the Supreme Council's standing committee adopted the National Referendum Law to hold a people's vote for confirmation of the revised constitution bill in December. The law will be applied only for the coming amendment. Citizens over 20 yrs. of age are elibible for voting, the date of which will be announced by the President 10 days in advance. The revised constitution will be confirmed with more than half of the votes cast by more than half of the eligible votes. In case of voting irregularities the violators will be given sentences of more than 4 years of imprisonment.

Chang Myun Rejects Pardon

On Oct. 12, ex-Democratic Premier Chang Myun, convicted of aiding the Iju-dang coup, refused to accept the pardon given him by the military government. Chang, sentenced to 10 years in prison on Sept. 27, disregarded the leniency measure and claimed to appeal to the general court martial to clear the earlier court's decision. The prosecution authorities held that withdrawal of the right to appeal was requisite for Chang's release. So Chang remained in prison until the army forced him to leave on bail on Oct. 16. Charg formally appealed to the general court martial for a review of his trial on Oct. 18.

Cabinet Shakeup

On Oct. 15, the military government appointed Maj: Gen. Park Kyong-Won, 2nd Army Corps Commander as Home Minister and Park Il-Kyong, director of the office of Legislation as Education Minister. The cabinet change was the first reshuffle for the three-month old Kim Hyun-Chul cabinet which is now composed of 10 civilian and 6 military ministers. In the meantime, the following reshuffle of the Army brass was announced: Lt. Gen. Jung Hae-Hiuk, deputy commander of the 2nd ROK Army Corps became commander of the 4th Army Corps and Maj: Gen. Mun Hyng-Tae was named 2nd Army Corps commander.